

594 ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives
 611 lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family
 [597] groups (above). For few years after marriage,
 residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal,
 depending on type of marriage entered into (see
 below); this factor is reflected in composition
 [614] of family groups, which do not differ essentially
 616 from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife,
 618 and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of
 Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel,
 cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters;
 Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed
 thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232;
 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system,
 which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes
 (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance
 is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this
 is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term
 used for relative who has died, (2) appending
 another suffix to term used for connecting rela-
 tive, (3) using suppletive kinship term for par-
 ent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin,
 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collat-
 eral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3
 descending generations from speaker.

582 Marriage.- Man usually married within own
 583 generation or generation below; informants said
 581 man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old be-
 fore they married. Marriages essentially economic
 transactions between families of 2 contracting
 parties; most customary form was so-called mar-
 riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement
 between themselves; man informed his parents, who
 asked woman's parents for their daughter; these
 latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's par-
 ents paid woman's equivalent of \$30-40 in clam-
 shell money for woman and she was then taken
 home by groom to his father's house, woman's
 mother giving presents of baskets to groom's
 parents at this time. Money paid for woman went
 to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother
 had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter;
 "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew
 she was a good worker" (FP).

[584] Less formal matings often occurred at dances;
 [836] man had intercourse with woman, although mothers
 583 warned their daughters against this; couple de-
 cided to live together; man took woman home to
 his father's house; next day his parents usually
 took woman's parents some clamshell money in
 payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man ob-
 tained woman's parents' consent to marry their
 daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's
 parents for year or so, man helping his wife's
 parents during this time (see Autobiography of
 FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms
 of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin,
 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

● 584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MN).

587 Man marrying second time did not buy second
583 wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

582 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry
835 within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 Children adopted from another tribe could
835 marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants;
837 chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo-'iñ, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo-'iñ,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

159 mother) came back from Tejon ranch she made a
fiesta over at cukka-yl. She was living over
765 there then. Her son's (Steban's) daughter had
died, his eldest daughter. So wišimlīt was making
a fiesta; then Steban could eat meat again. They
killed a big steer. The men cooked the meat; they
boiled and fried it. I met wišimlīt's youngest
son, Pete, over there then; I had never seen him
before, because after wišimlīt's man was killed
in the massacre she had taken Steban and Pete to
Tejon ranch. There she married a Tejon man and
lived at Tejon about 20 yrs.; then she came back
here with her husband and Steban and Pete.

159 Pete was about the same age that I was: He
584 saw me over there at the fiesta.

582 "Oh," he said, "I want to live with you."
But my mother didn't want me to go with him;
he was mean when he was drunk. I wanted to stay
with Pete that time, but my mother said, "No."

159 Over at cukka-yl where they had that fiesta
231 there was a man who used to get eagles from
Nichols peak. He used to raise them; he had one
eagle for a long time. When that eagle grew big
the man set him free; the eagle lived over in the
mts. near the man's place for a long time. The
man would go to Kernville to buy meat; when that
man came back Eagle would be sitting up on top of
a hill, watching for him. He could see a long way
off, that eagle. When Eagle saw that man coming
he would fly close to him, knock him down with his
wings; then he would cut that man's load all to
pieces and eat the meat. He would scratch that man,
too, sometimes. One day that eagle flew away; he
never came back any more. That old man raised him;
anyone who wanted to could raise eagles.

159 There was another man, a bad doctor, whom my
627 father told me about. It happened a long time ago.
The people told that bad doctor, "Go get eagles
on Nichols peak." "All right," he said, "I'll go."
Four men went with him, away up on the S side
of Nichols peak, behind the cliffs. When they got
up on top of the cliffs, they tied a rope around
the doctor's waist. Then they lowered him down
over the cliff. When he was halfway down they let
go of that rope. That's how they killed that bad
doctor.

159 A long time after the fiesta at cukka-yl we
584 were picking piñons up at Long valley. And Pete
582 came to our camp and he asked for me again. That
time my mother said to him, "You're all right."
Then Pete stayed over there, picking piñons and
helping us. His mother, wišimlīt, didn't pay any-
thing for me; she had paid for a wife for Pete's
brother, Steban (SM), though. She liked a Monilabal
woman she knew; that Monilabal woman was a good
worker, not lazy at all, so wišimlīt paid for her
and brought her to yltiyamp to be Steban's wife.
Steban wasn't home at the time; he was working
down around Bakersfield I think; he didn't know
anything about it. When he came home there was a
wife for him, sitting there in the house.

159 After we left that piñon camp in the hills we
came down to u-u-pu-lap again. We moved around too